

The Western Anti-Slavery Proprietor

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JAMES G. BIRNEY AND

VOLUME II. NO. 13.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1837.

POETRY.

From the Morning Star.

Pen for the Slave.

In Christian land Columbia,

Where science ope's her store;

Where Europe's sons are mighty,

But Afric's base and poor;

In dark abodes of slavery,

The scenes of many a sigh,

They need us unworthy;

To free them are they die,

Ah, here's a land of freedom

By some her son confess'd,

While others are forbidden;

To sit among the blest;

And will these stores of kindness,

Remain to us supplied,

If some we will in blindness;

For whom the Saviour died?

Can we, the sons of plenty

And Christians too in heart,

Forbid to men this bounty,

Not bibles life impart!

Columbia! O Columbia!

Thou favor'd Child of God,

Arise and banish slavery

Remembering all thy good.

May this land, the Southron,

The Northern, join in love,

To loose the yoke, the burden'

And lead her sons above;

Then will the scenes of Nature

Their shining beauties wear,

Whos ev'ry human creature

The Christian image bears.

M. M. SMART.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

To the People of Clermont County.

Fellow Citizens:

In behalf of a Society, every where spoken of and vilified, we come forward to address you. We have been stigmatized as vile fanatics, as blood-thirsty ruffians, as incendiaries, as traitors disorganizers; and every epithet of exceeding contempt has been thrown upon us, to degrade our character. We have been accused of designs against the State, of aiming to give the church control over it, as wishing to destroy the Union, as aiming to excite insurrection among the slaves, and desirous to spread havoc and let loose the dogs of war upon our peaceful land. In the common intercourse of life we do not treat any man as a villain till we have some evidence of it, but regard each other as honest men and good neighbors, till we see some evidence of a contrary character. In our Courts, the law presumes every man to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty, and should any man charge another with high crimes and misdemeanors without proof just laws of the land, administered by an upright jury, would inflict ample punishment upon him, who would thus wilfully defame his neighbor's character and destroy his reputation.

We who are called Abolitionists, have been thus wantonly abused, and have borne it with patience, not rendering evil for evil. Yet our character is as dear to us, as that of any man who slanders us, and we come before an enlightened community to put ourselves on trial, and to call for an honest and upright verdict, as to our guilt or innocence of the charges laid against us. We plead our own cause, and we ask for a candid hearing, and then are willing to leave to your good sense, the decision of the question, whether we are right or wrong, in our designs, opinions, and measures.

We will very briefly attend to the charges that are laid against us, and then present our real object and some of the reasons that induce us to act in our present course.

1st. We are charged with designing to divide the U-

It is all that we are required to do, to deny this charge wholly, when put on trial for our character, and to call our accusers for the proof. But we will stand on the defensive, and show you that this is not true. And first, what shall we gain by dissolving the Union? In all the evils that will befall our country, we shall have our share. All the distress by civil commotion, and perhaps war, will fall on us, as much as on others. We shall gain nothing in wealth, or honor, or safety, or peace of conscience, if we were to attempt such a thing, and what motive have we for it? Those who accuse us of this, see the foolishness of the charge, as applied to the great mass of the people, and say that it is the leaders of the party, who are ambitious men, and hope, by involving the country in commotion and blood, to rise on its ruin; but we the people, poor, ignorant, misguided souls; we the farmers, mechanics, and private citizens, are all led about by these designing men. Alas! what poor, unhappy, deceived beings we are. One would think we were more entitled to pity for our weakness, than to the abuse and violence with which we are treated daily, and from every quarter. This hue and cry about separating the Union, has been the scarecrow used by Southern politicians to terrify the North, till it has ceased to alarm, and like a stilled image, used to frighten birds from the corn fields, it has so lost its terror that the very birds light upon it without fear. Who will divide the Union? The North! No, they do not need to do it. They can move on to wealth and independence, in spite of the incubus of slavery, that weighs down one half of the Union.—But will the South do it? They dare not. Who will keep their slaves in subjection, when once the Northern States withhold their aid? Who will guard their defenseless coasts from hostile invasion, when Northern ships are withdrawn? Who will export their cottons when northern sailors leave their ports?—There is not a more helpless people upon earth, for all purposes of self-defence, than those of the Slave States. All her disposable force would be demanded to keep her slaves in check, and what could she do in a civil war? The blacks who live in the free States alone, could spread terror through their country, were they to cross the line, with arms and ammunition, and proclaim liberty to the slaves. The South, blind as they are by passions, will cease to threaten us with division, and non-intercourse, and civil war, the moment they find we are not to be terrified by their threats.

2d. But it is said this abolitionism is a scheme of ambitious men to gain honor and distinction. Well, they have chosen a poor way to obtain it, if we may judge from the language of the public press; for there are "few so poor as to do them reverence." If it is honorable distinction that we are contending for, why do not some of our aspiring politicians who dream day and night of offices, wealth, and fame, lay claim to their share of the mighty honors of the abolition cause? We are not fearful of losing our part of the glory. The renown that is to be acquired in our ranks, is freely offered to all, without money and without price. Alas, why is the golden harvest so slowly reaped? Why not our editors, and orators, and statesmen, claim their share of the prize? Because

full surely they know, that the rewards of honor and applause, lie not in the rough paths of this cause. That reproach, and obloquy, and persecution, are the lot of those who walk in them, and therefore they stand alone. But be assured, that when the men who now bear the brunt of the hottest battle, have turned the ranks of the enemy, when the cry of victory is heard, and her eagle wing is spread over the victorious hosts of abolition, then will these pure-hearted patriots, who now scorn all honor and emolument for their country's good, be seen trooping to share the spoils, like the beasts of the earth and birds of the air, gathering to the battle field, to gorge upon the slain. Yes, when the hour comes to apportion the honors of the victory, then with trumpet-tongues, loud and long will be their praises of abolition, and eager their efforts to claim companionship with them. Of whatever crimes we may be guilty, then we do most sincerely think, an ambitious desire for honor and applause has a small place among the motives that actuate us.

3d. But we are charged with designing to excite the slaves to insurrection and murder! This is a high charge, and ought to have abundant proof before it is believed. But what is the evidence?—What abolitionist has ever been found exciting insurrection among slaves? We hear now and then of the generous Southerners seizing a defenceless stranger, and without trial or form of law, hanging him up like a dog, because they say, they suspect he is an abolitionist. We have heard of this high-minded and honorable people refusing to pay a minister of the gospel, who had taught school among them, his dues and when he attempted to obtain them by law, charging him with being an abolitionist, and tarring and feathering him and then with threat of death driving him out of the State. But when yet has any man been found, whose name and residence has been given, that we might know him, and against whom, upon a fair trial, the evidence has been adduced, that he was an abolitionist, and was leading to excite insurrection among the slaves?

But it is said, we do not dare go there, but stay at home and send papers to them. Well, suppose some of the Southern men in revenge, should write letters to our horses and cows, exhorting them to insurrection, they would be amply revenged, for who among the slaves knows how to read? Not one in twenty. And who at the North is acquainted with the name and residence of slaves that we may write to them? And what Postmaster at the South would deliver abolition documents to slaves? Their robbing the mail, so honorably, not many months since, in Charleston, testifies how much prospect there would be of exciting slaves, by sending publications among them in the mail. No; abolitionists are not so foolish as to send publications to those who cannot read, and if they could, cannot obtain them. But what is to excite insurrection? Look over every publication ever issued by an abolition society, and where will any man find one sentence that excites to insurrection and murder? The language of every society and writer is that of the Scriptures—"Servants, be obedient unto your masters, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward."

4th. Nor has the charge, so often vociferated against every effort to do good—that we are attempting an union of Southern men in revenge, because it is one of gross injustice. To a generous mind, whatever effects the happiness of man is interesting, and comes home to his own personal feelings.—What heart in this land did not glow with deep interest, when Greece rose to shake off the Turkish yoke? Whose soul did not thrill with delight when the news of victory over the oppressed was born to us? What meant the firing of cannon, or the illumination of cities, when the power of the oppressor was broken by the battle of Navarino? (It told that the heart of every freeman swelled with noble emotion, while he watched the contest between liberty and despotism, the oppressed and the oppressor: and yet what business of ours was it?) What business had we to interfere with the domestic policy of Turkey? What right had we to raise contributions, and send provisions, and clothing, and arms, to this suffering people! They were men, and they were oppressed, and we felt that whatever belonged to them as men was ours. Their cause was ours, and we wept with their sufferings, and rejoiced in their joy.

Who has forgotten the intense anxiety with which we witnessed the ill-fated struggles of unhappy Poland, and the deep excavations with which our land resounded, when the oppressor overwhelmed these brave men, and visited with death and chains, and banishment and torture, those who had been contending for liberty? Why is every child moved to interfere and help his weaker companion in a struggle with the stronger? It is that generous sympathy which the God of Heaven has implanted in our nature, that we might alleviate each other's woes; a sympathy that cheers the hour of agony, and soothes the wounded spirit; the best medicine of human sorrow, thrown into every bitter cup of adversity, which man is called to drink. He who extinguishes this in his own bosom, puts out the divine light, and changes himself from the image of God, to the likeness of an infernal spirit. He who should destroy this principle in the heart of our race, would transform this earth to a prison house of dark unmitigated woe.

We claim, as men created in the image of God, the right of sympathizing with the oppressed; of being merciful as our father in heaven is merciful; of rebuking the oppressor, however high he may be exalted by wealth or power. We engage in this cause by virtue of the right vested in us by God, to pity the poor and defenceless, and relieve him, to be indignant at the injustice of the haughty tyrant, and reprove him, and bring upon him that abhorrence which his crimes deserve. And is there not reason for the exercise of sympathy? Is it nothing that two millions and a half of our fellow creatures are stripped of all the rights of man, that they are converted into mere property, subject to the absolute disposal of a capricious master? Is it nothing that the husband can have no guarantee for the safety and purity of his wife, and the parent no authority to control and direct his child? Nothing that the tenderest ties of life are sundered, that hearts are daily wrung with anguish, that despair takes up a gloomy abode in so many immortal minds? Nothing that the virtue and purity of every slave are at the will of a licentious master? Is it nothing, that unrequited toil should be exacted by the scourge, year after year?—Nothing that so many minds should be shrouded in midnight gloom, and the word of life be taken from them, and the fair treasures of knowledge be forever sealed to them? Who is a man, endowed with human sympathy, and will say that these things afford no occasion for the exercise of our compassion, and of strenuous effort to remedy them?

But were we to confine ourselves to the narrow views of self-interest, and to look at nothing but what immediately affects our own welfare, we shall see enough to call for our urgent and continued effort.

And first, our honor as a nation demands that the foul stain of slavery be washed out from the records of our land. We boast our country to be the land of the free, the refuge for the stranger and the oppressed, and yet are we almost the only civilized and christian nation in which slavery exists, and a system of slavery the darkest, most tyrannical on earth. We as a nation are implicated in this shame and dishonor. The Capital of our land is the slave-dealer's market, and the prisons of the United States are the receptacles into which the slaves are thrust, while they preparing to transport them to the distant market. The internal slave-trade is continued in all its horrors on our waters, and throughout our coasts. The fugitive slave is driven back to his bondage, if he has perchance escaped by the laws of our country, and the officers of the free States are compelled to act with the Southern slave master, in the disgraceful and inhuman work of riveting again his broken fetters.

All nations who look upon our professions, breathing the spirit of universal liberty, and our practice, bowing down beneath the most galling yoke more than two millions of our freeborn fellow man, despise and laugh us to scorn. They hold us up before their subjects, as the republicans of America, selling, tasking, scourging men, whom our Declaration of Independence declares to be our equals by birth, and this without crime and without any excuse, except such as avarice has always plead for oppression.

2d. Not only does the honor of our nation demand the extinction of slavery, but our safety requires its speedy removal from the midst of us.

It is an alarming fact, that in all those States where slave labor is the principal dependence of the people, the ratio of the increase of slave population is greater than that of the whites. The following table, extracted from Woodbridge's Large Atlas, shows the comparative increase of the slave and white population in nine of the principal slaveholding States. We have omitted Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland, because they are occupying their slaves, and they are diminishing in those States. The table is as follows:

Another fact shows that our commencing at the North is wise and judicious. It is this: There is a strong belief in the minds of multitudes here, that slavery can never be abolished but by removing the blacks from this country. Many say they are opposed to slavery, and would be glad to have it abolished, but they do not wish to have the blacks remain among us, and they would rather have them continue in slavery, than be free to roam all over the whole land. Now while the free States cherish this opinion, they are saying to the South, hold on to your slaves until they can be removed.—Do not consent to free them on the salt, but retain them in bondage for us, because

they give them liberty and a dwelling among us. We need, therefore, to convince the free States, that the removal of three millions of blacks is impracticable; that if it can, it will never be done; that the safest, and most peaceful, and profitable mode, for both master and servant, is to free them on the soil, and hire them as laborers. We need to show that the way of being overrun with the blacks, if the slaves were free, is groundless; that nothing would so effectually drain off the black population from the North to the South, as to abolish slavery there; thus making that country more desirable to them, and offering inducements for them to emigrate from the North to a more suitable climate, where all their labor would be demanded and amply compensated, in the cultivation of the soil.

Now all these facts we believe we can prove conclusively; and when they are established, the North will be willing and desirous to have universal emancipation proclaimed, and will thus be able to exert an influence, by precept and example, to induce the South to change their system of slave for free labor. The example of the North, our superior prospects, the surpassing enterprise and industry of our people, the greater product of free compared with slave labor, have already exerted much influence upon the South.—Let all the countering influence which the false opinions we have cherished exert to perpetuate slavery, be removed, and our example will act with still greater power, and the influence of persuasion and argument will complete the work of conviction and reformation in our Southern brethren.

But why should we interfere in this matter? What business is it whether the South hold slaves or not? What right have we to meddle with their domestic relations? These are questions often asked us, when we present our object, and the answers to them will lead us to consider the reasons that ought to induce every man to embark in this cause.

And first, we feel that we have a right to be interested in this cause, and make efforts to destroy the system of slavery, because it is one of gross injustice. To a generous mind, whatever effects the happiness of man is interesting, and comes home to his own personal feelings.—What heart in this land did not glow with deep interest, when Greece rose to shake off the Turkish yoke? Whose soul did not thrill with delight when the news of victory over the oppressed was born to us? What meant the firing of cannon, or the illumination of cities, when the power of the oppressor was broken by the battle of Navarino? (It told that the heart of every freeman swelled with noble emotion, while he watched the contest between liberty and despotism, the oppressed and the oppressor: and yet what business of ours was it?) Who does not see that this increase will soon produce such an immense physical force among the slaves, that it will be impossible to keep it down by any force from the slave States? Who does not see that in a few years, an immense standing army, raised from the North, from the sons of the present generation, will be required at the South, to hold the slaves in check? Who does not see at what an expense of men and treasure, we must preserve the lives and property of southern men, if this evil continues much longer? Look a moment at the proportion of slaves to whites already existing in the slave States. In Maryland there are 300 slaves to every thousand whites. In Virginia 620, in North Carolina 500, in Tennessee 262; Kentucky 516; Missouri 217; Arkansas 157; and Florida 617. Now let any man look at the facts. The slaveholding States which lie on the sea coast, and are most exposed to invasion, are filled with slaves, and on the coast the slaves generally are more numerous than the whites. In Virginia, almost all the slaves are in East Virginia, so that on this part of our coast the slaves are about equal in number to the whites. In North Carolina, half as many slaves as whites. In South Carolina they are numerous. In Florida as 8 to 10. In Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, all lying on the coast, they are nearly equal in number with the whites and in Louisiana, more numerous. Now, suppose we were involved in a war with any other nation, the whole of our most defenseless sea board is exposed to an enemy, who may land their troops, and arm the slaves, and drive the effeminate and frightened inhabitants into the interior. Consider one moment, that the best port on our south western coast, Charleston, is in a state where the slaves outnumber the whites, and where they increase twice and a half as fast as the whites; and the best sea port on the Southern coast, New Orleans, is in a state where the slaves are also more numerous than the whites. Now, one of two things must be done.—Either the masters must set their slaves free, and by kind treatment attach them to their interests, or else some foreign enemy will free them, and a scene of murder and destruction, such as never was seen on our happy soil, will be witnessed, and slavery will cease by the extinction of the whites. What man's his sober senses can doubt this? Great Britain would have attempted it in the last war, had she not had slaveholding colonies in the West Indies where we could play the same game. But now her slaves are free, and she is disciplining the blacks, and enrolling them in her armies, and how easily could she land an army of blacks, that might sweep through the whole Southern country, with fire and sword? Look a moment at the history of the past year. A little band of Indians, united with the runaway slaves, on our Southern frontier, destined of provisions and arms and ammunition, except what they could procure from the neighboring islands, have defied the military power of the United States—the united force of Southern chivalry. The deeds of valor performed in a contest of more than a year, by all these troops, in contest with a few hundred Indians and negroes, destitute of nearly all means of defense, affords a ridiculous commentary on the windyside of our Southern Statesmen in Congress. No, the South, when war upon her coast is threatened, is paralyzed with terror, for every man thinks of his own wife and children, exposed to be murdered by those whom he has been robbing of liberty and property for years, and they dare not leave their homes. It will be with them as it was in the Southampton insurrection in Virginia, where the people were like sheep flying before wolves. Every heart was faint, and all hands were feeble. What can a people do in their own defense, when the danger is so great that even the women are obliged to bear arms to their beds, and dread every sound lest it tell of some approaching enemy? Better live upon the edge of a burning volcano, when its heating sides foretell a coming eruption, than among such materials of overwhelming ruin, as are slumbering in the South, and wait but the touch of some foreign enemy to explode the whole vast magazine. Yet there are wrongs treasured up there, by injured, abused, heart-broken men and women, that, unless the voice of kindness and gentleness shall assuage the fierce desire for revenge, will long bring forth a bitter harvest of weeping, and lamentation, and woe, upon their oppressors.

We might go on and show to you that slavery is a system unprofitable to the South, compared with free labor, that it degrades the free laborers of the North; that it degrades rapidly a most odious aristocracy in our land; that its existence threatens the liberty of speech and the press over the whole union; that it produces moral degradation, impurity, and every form of licentiousness; that religion dies before its withering breath; that its abolition would be safe to the master and beneficial to the slave, elevating and ennobling him in the scale of being; that it would be peculiarly for the interest of the farmers and mechanics of the free states, creating a demand for all their productions, whenever the slaves are permitted to purchase for themselves, more than twice as great as there is now. The word "danger" is to be apprehended or inconvenience, to either North or South, but that in the beautiful language of the bible,—when we "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free," then shall our light rise in obscurity, and our darkness be as the noon-day; and righteousness and purity and peace and the approbation of man and the favor of God shall crown us with honor and prosperity and every worldly good, and remove those obstacles that now so much obstruct the pathway to Heaven where the blighting curse of slavery exists. But we have said enough.

In conclusion, permit us ask, in the name of this Society, whose motives and characters have been misrepresented, that you will examine this subject and judge for yourselves, whether we are not right. Ambitious politicians may misrepresent us, while they can succeed in gaining popularity by it. The friends and supporters of slavery will

Such is "the testimony" of Dr. Dickson. I have just returned from the Dr.'s Manse, to my own study, and am writing in full view of my responsibility to record "the truth," and the "whole truth." This is not the only "testimony" supplied by Dr. Dickson. On the 10th of February, 1836, the following requisition was forwarded to me, in consequence of which I gave a lecture from the pulpit of Dr. Dickson's church, to 3,500 of the citizens of Edinburgh.

George Thompson, Esq.

Sir.—CORDIALLY APPROVING of your great exertions in the cause of negro emancipation, and earnestly desiring that our fellow-citizens may be stirred up to take a deeper interest in the liberation of the slaves, especially in America, we beg to request that you will deliver an address on this subject in the West Church, which is at your disposal for an early day next week.

We are, sir,

Your obedient servants,

David Dickson, D. D., Minister of the W. Ch.

John Prout, " " of the College Church.

Robert S. Candlish, " " of St. George's "

Archibald Bennie, " " of Lady Yester's "

D. T. H. Drummond, Minister of St. Paul's Episcopal Chapel.

And a number of lay gentlemen of the very highest respectability, advocates at the Scottish Bar, writers to the signet, Physicians, &c., &c., &c., &c., &c., &c., &c., &c.

I might here close my letter, and leave the Christian public of America to form and express their opinion of the treatment which I and my friends and others have received at the hands of a man calling himself a Christian, and professing to be a guide and instructor of young men many of them destined to preach a gospel of Truth and Love, and vindicate the eternal obligation of a Law which says, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor—but I shall not refrain from giving my own view of the contents generally, of the letter of Professor Stowe.

With an angry feeling toward Professor Stowe, but desiring that he may repent and bring forth fruits meet for repentance—with all seriousness—and with a full conviction that I proceed upon sufficient evidence, I pronounce the letter to the Cincinnati Journal a false, injurious and wicked production. The more wicked and worthy of condemnation, inasmuch as it is not the work of a venal writer, for one of the polluted prints of your city; but the grave and deliberate production of a professor of religion, and purposed to be written as a fair and honest account of the proceedings at a certain meeting, and the opinions of certain distinguished men—written too, to guide the judgments of the far off citizens of your land who naturally apportion their respect for, and confidence in, such communications, according to the character and stations of the writers.

Let me be understood, I have no quarrel with Professor Stowe, because he does not think as I do. I respect no man the less for any conscientious difference of opinion. It is not because the letter under notice contains views contrary to mine, that I call it wicked, but because it represents a meeting at which he was present, *not as it was, but as it was not*,—and because it makes statements which are absolutely and unequivocally false—statements which Professor Stowe *must have known to be false*—that I brand it as a foul, slanderous and wicked document. I appeal to the "900 good honest looking English people," who, according to the Professor's account, were present at Exeter Hall. I appeal to Sheriff Peck who occupied the chair—I appeal to the Rev. Messrs. Eustace Carey, Thomas Price, Samuel Nicholson, Charles Storl, and John Elliot, who were amongst the speakers of the evening—I appeal to John Rankin, Esq., of New York, and Rev. R. B. Hall of Massachusetts, who were on the platform with me. Let the article you have printed be put into the hands of any of these, and let their verdict be taken. I feel confident it will be a verdict of condemnation. I might, my dear sir, appeal to you, who have heard me much, and know me well, to say if you deem me capable of uttering the folly and falsehood put into my lips by the Rev. Professor from Lane Seminary.

I did say that I loved America, and forgave her her acts of unkindness towards me—but I did not say that I had seen the bodies of females *lacerated with the whip* or that I had *shared the dangers and oppression of the slave*—I did not say that *slave-traders were regarded as very respectable people*. I did not utter the nonsense attributed to me respecting the Colonization Society, and Liberia. I did not say that "the white people of the United States were the most *abject slaves in the world*." But why should I specify? The letter is one great falsehood, and the conscience of the Professor will tell him so. By putting in what I never said—by leaving out what I did say—by distorting some expressions, and omitting the connection of others, he has made me the author of a mass of absurdity and fiction equally at variance with good taste and correct information. The speech, in a word, is the figment of his own immediate and bitter pen. I ask, if such conduct be consistent with a religious character? If such conduct be honorable? or generous? or just?

A word in behalf of the Evangelical Magazine. My violent denunciations were not directed against that periodical, whose editor is an honor to his country, and the cause of freedom he so ably pleads; but against an insidious, self-contradictory article in the *Congregational Magazine*, written to bolster up the reputation, and justify the pusillanimous conduct of Dr. Cox; in which positions were assumed in reference to a moral and religious interference with the slavery of America, fatal to all foreign missionary operations.

I have every reason to believe, that my friend Mr. Scoble never said that "General Jackson had been bribed by Scrip of the Texian land," but merely, that he was a holder of such scrip in common with many members of his administration. I was at both the conversations between Professor Stowe and Mr. Scoble on this subject, and can testify that Professor Stowe only asked Mr. Scoble's authority for saying that the President was a holder of scrip in Texas land.

ANTI-SLAVERY ANNIVERSARIES.

Our Late Anniversary.

We returned home too late last week to insert in the Philanthropist any notice of our Anniversary proceedings. We hastened now to give our readers a brief sketch of the meeting, accompanied by an abstract of the minutes.

At 2 o'clock, p. m. Thursday 27th ult., the society convened. Two hundred and forty-three delegates from various parts of the State took their seats, nearly fifty of whom were women. On looking over the minutes, we find only 70 societies marked, as being represented. When it is recollect that there are more than two hundred societies in the State, this fact may be construed to the disadvantage of the societies not represented. This would be unfair. Two circumstances are sufficient to account for it, without calling in question the seal of our friends. The first is, the place of meeting was so far removed from a central point, being close to the eastern border of the State, as to put it out of the power of numerous distant societies to send up any delegates. And then, the time of meeting was at a season when farmers are particularly busy. The last circumstance has been attended to by the Society, and hereafter the annual meeting will be held at a period when people in the country will be most at their leisure. As to the place, it is the intention of the committee in future to select, if possible, a more central location.

However, it was a noble meeting. Several Abolitionists from other states being present, were invited to sit as corresponding members. Among them was the President of the Pennsylvania State Society. The concourse of spectators was very large, and appeared deeply interested in all the proceedings. We were gratified to see in the number a distinguished individual from a slave-holding state.

The proceedings of the Society were carried on with the utmost harmony. Men of the most opposite creeds in religion and politics, found for awhile their differences of opinion, and remembered only that they were brethren knit together by the ties of a holy enterprise. As Christians they rejoiced to feel that with regard to the

creed; and as politicians they stood hand in hand on the broad platform of natural and constitutional rights, knowing that in this respect too they were all of one heart and one mind. Aiming to obtain liberty for their countrymen in chains, to establish on a surer basis their own essential rights, and to uphold the absolute supremacy of the law of love, by which God would bind his creatures to each other and the whole universe to Himself, they felt that it would have been derogatory to the greatness of their object, to have suffered their differences of views and habits in other respects, to have engendered discord or the slightest degree infringed on their holy union.

And there was no less peace without than within. It had been reported that some efforts would be made to disturb the meeting, but not the faintest symptom of a lawless spirit was at any time discernible. "Popular impulse" finds no favor with the people of Mount Pleasant. The kindness and courtesy of the people will long be remembered with gratitude by abolitionists.

It will be seen by the following abstract, that no vote was taken by the Society as to the amount of money to be raised during the year for anti-slavery purposes. At the preceding anniversary, it had been voted, perhaps rather impulsively, that ten thousand dollars should be raised. Only four thousand five hundred of the sum were subscribed at the time, and during the whole year, not much more we think than five thousand dollars of the sum voted were paid into the treasury. The Society at its late anniversary, instead of passing a vote of the kind just mentioned, resolved to do nothing more than make pledges at once. These would furnish better ground for the Executive Committee to go upon, in carrying on their operations, than a mere resolution. Accordingly, pledges to the amount of between six and seven thousand dollars were made on the spot. In this way more was effected in reality than at the former anniversary. It is the intention of the Committee to employ immediately a financial agent, who shall visit the societies not represented, and procure pledges or donations from all who may not be already pledged.

It will be seen that the Senior Editor of this paper is among the delegates to the National Anniversary. He set out for New York just before the close of our meeting.—*Eds. Phil.*

ABSTRACT OF THE MINUTES.

The Second Anniversary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society was held at Mount Pleasant, Jefferson Co., (where Benjamin Lundy commenced his labors in behalf of emancipation,) April 27th, 1837.

Society met at 2 o'clock P. M., in the Friends' Meeting House. Jas. G. Birney was appointed Chairman, pro tem. Geo. Whipple, Goodell Buckingham, A. A. Guthrie, Secretaries.

Rev. Jno. Kepp addressed the meeting a few moments explanatory of the objects of the Convention, and concluded with prayer. The names of delegates were now called for.

Gamaliel Bailey, Jr., read the report of the Executive Committee, which on motion was referred.

On motion of J. G. Birney, gentlemen, (members of anti-slavery societies in other states,) were invited to take seats as corresponding members.

Present as such.

Dr. F. J. Lemoyne, Joseph Mathews, Thos. McKeever, Esq., Robt. Sloane, Thomas Piles, M. McKeever, David Boyd, Dr. A. W. Campbell, Alex. C. Hamilton, David Moore, Joseph Cole, J. L. Sampson, James Petrie, M. D.

The following Committees were appointed:

Committee on the Report of the Executive Committee.

Committee on Petitions to the Legislature.

Committee on Reports of Societies.

Committee on Nominations.

Committee on Business.

Committee on Resolutions.

Committee on Petition to Congress.

Adjourned to meet at 8 o'clock A. M. to-morrow.

Friday morning 8 o'clock, Society met according to adjournment.

Opened with prayer by the Rev. Samuel Crothers. Gamaliel Bailey read the report of the Publishing Committee.

Nomination Committee reported the names of the following gentlemen for officers of the Society the ensuing year.

President,

Leicester King.

Vice Presidents,

Alexander Campbell, James Gilliland, Brown Co., Aza Mahan, Oberlin, Dr. Bancroft, Granville, Reese E. Price, Hamilton Co., Francis Dunlap, Warren Co., Wm. Keys, Highland Co., David Long, Ross Co., Samuel Crothers, Highland Co., Nathan Galbreath, Columbian, James Stewart, Fayette, Dyer Burgess, Adams, Abraham Baer, Stark, Wm. R. Hudson, Geauga, Samuel D. Enny, Pickaway, G. Buckingham, Richland, Orestes K. Hawley, Ashtabula, J. Jolliffe, Clermont, Levi Whipple, Muskingum, J. S. Waugh, Butler, John Walker, Harrison, Daniel Miller, Seneca, J. G. Birney, Hamilton, J. A. Foote, Cuyahoga.

Corresponding Secretary,

Recording Secretary,

Augustus Hopkins.

Treasurer,

Wm. Donaldson.

Manager,

Harmon Kingsbury, Cuyahoga Co., Isaac Colby, Cincinnati.

Thomas Maylin, do.

John Meady, do.

Christian Donaldson, do.

John Hunt, Athens Co., Joshua R. Gedding, Ashtabula,

Jacob Coon, Belmont,

J. B. Mahan, Brown Co., John Rankin, do., Thomas Hibbin, Clinton,

Manasseh Basar, Carroll,

Jas. Hambleton, Columbian,

M. B. Cuising, Franklin,

Uri Seely, Geauga,

Robert Hanna, Harrison,

Robert Bell, Holmes,

Everett Judson, Huron,

William Flanner, Jefferson, W. W. Beale, Knox, Joseph Riggs, Scioto, J. B. Johnson, Logan, John Monteith, Lorain, Archibald Stewart, Fayette, Timothy Hudson, Medina, Charles Dingan, Monroe, James H. Shield, Montgomery, Horace Nye, Muskingum, John Wallace, do.

G. C. Brainerd, Pike,

Ashbel Kilbourn, Portage,

P. H. Gallady, Preble,

Sheldene Guthrie, Putnam,

Robert Stewart, Ross,

Samuel McCullough, Saile,

Riverina Bidwell, Trumbull,

J. M. Sterling, Cuyahoga,

Peter Kirkpatrick, Licking,

George F. Fee, Clermont,

Wm. Cook, Hamilton,

John Kepp, Ohio City.

Executive Committee,

Wm. Donaldson, Isaac Colby,

Gamaliel Bailey, Jr., Augustus Hopkins,

James C. Ludlow, John Melandy,

Reese E. Price, Horace Bushnell,

James G. Birney.

Delegates to the Convention at New York,

J. G. Birney, Michael S. McGrath,

G. Buckingham, Joel Fisk,

E. Sturges, John Morgan,

G. Helmick, Samuel Steele,

Wm. Keys, Charles S. Renshaw,

H. Foote, Bennett Roberts,

Hiram Wilson, Daniel Babcock,

J. G. Birney from the committee to whom was referred the report of the Executive Committee, reported the same back with amendments, and a recommendation to commit it to the Executive Committee for the ensuing year for publication, which was agreed to by the society.

J. G. Birney offered and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, That there is no danger to the integrity of the Union, to be apprehended from the discussion of the subject of slavery or from the emancipation of the negroes—passed unanimously.

John Rankin and Dyer Burgess supported the following resolution:

Resolved, That the sending of agents to collect funds from slave-holders, tends to bring the proceeds of robbery into the treasury of benevolent societies, to relieve the consciences of slave-holders, to render slavery reputable, and to corrupt both the agents and the societies who send them.

Sister Elizabeth Borton also supported the foregoing. The Treasurer offered his report which was received, and referred to a committee of three as auditors.

Adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock P. M.

2 o'clock, P. M., Society met. Committee on Petitions reported and were discharged from the further consideration of the subject. The business of drawing up the forms of petitions was committed to the Executive Committee.

Dr. J. F. Lemoyne offered and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the duty of every friend of immediate emancipation, fully to investigate and appreciate the obstacles which oppose and obstruct the free course of our holy cause, and to employ more zealously his time, talents and means, in every peaceful and righteous instrumentality for its speedy triumph.—Passed.

Individuals and societies were called on for pledges to the funds of the Society for the coming year, when six thousand three hundred dollars were pledged.

On motion it was resolved, that the time of holding the annual meeting of the Society be between the 25th of May and 10th of June.

Resolved, That the Treasurer be instructed to meet the pledge of last year (to the Amer. Soc.) as far as possible, and that the Executive Committee be instructed to meet the whole as soon as possible.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorized to pledge to the parent society, a sum not exceeding \$2,000 from any monies which may remain in their hands after paying the present pledge.

Resolved, That all monies paid to the Society shall pass into the hands of the Treasurer, and no monies shall be paid out by him except upon the written order of the Executive Committee.

Resolved, That the Ex. Com. be requested to prepare and send up to the next Legislature a statement of facts with regard to the colored people of this State, showing their numbers, condition, and the effects of our statutes upon them.

Saturday morning 8 o'clock. Society met according to adjournment, and was called to order by Nathan Galbraith, President.

On motion of a member of the Convention, it was resolved, That our friends are respectfully invited to use their individual

NOTICES.

The Clermont County Anti-Slavery Society will hold its Third Quarterly meeting at Bethel on Friday the 20th inst., the public are invited to attend.

Rv. John DUDLEY, at Flint River, Genesee county Michigan, is authorized to act as Agent for the Philanthropist in that vicinity.

Mr. E. V. CARTER, of St. Clair, St. Clair county, Michigan, is authorized to receive subscriptions and make remittances for the Philanthropist.

Rv. DANIEL PARKER, is also duly authorized to act as Agent for the Philanthropist.

Rv. J. S. WATSON, of Somersville, Butler county, is appointed and duly authorized to act as Agent for the Philanthropist in that vicinity.

DAVID POWELL, is appointed Agent for the Philanthropist, in Steubenville and vicinity.

LETTERS received since April 28.—Chas. Clapp, J. Shepherd \$10, Geo. Carter, M. R. Robinson, N. Brown \$2, P. Vanarsdale \$10, J. Templeton \$8, N. M. Thomas \$2, Thos. Hibben \$2, A. D. Lilly \$2, Wm. Gillessell \$5, H. S. Gillet, C. Tomson \$2, E. V. Carter.

Post Masters—Jeffersonville and Lockport.

Receipts for the Philanthropist.

per M. R. ROBINSON, Financial Agent.	
Abraham Beede,	\$2 00
Abraham Sluyter,	2 00
David Bishop,	1 00
L. C. Ford,	2 00
Luke Dewitt,	2 00
J. C. McCoy,	2 00
A. Brook,	2 00
David A. Bacon,	2 00
O. K. Hawley,	2 00
Thomas Kirkwood,	2 00
George Ayres,	2 00
Joseph McKirick,	2 00
Thomas Milligan,	2 00
William Wilkin,	2 00
James Gowdy,	2 00
Jewell Wood,	4 00
J. B. Johnson,	2 00
John Paxton,	2 00
Robt. Hanna,	2 00
Thomas Lee,	2 00
John Olmstead,	2 00
William Sharp,	2 00
George Craig,	2 00
William Lee,	2 00
Alex. Hammond,	2 00
J. B. Taplin,	2 00
Joseph Cole,	2 00
Matthew Gillespie,	2 00
Dr. Boyl Emery,	2 00
William Johnson,	2 00
James Findley,	3 00
John Jamieson,	2 00
Carmel Anti-Sla. Society,	4 00
Samuel Mitchell,	2 00
Mark Strictland,	2 00
Aaron Tomlinson,	2 00
Robert Wilson,	2 00
Wm. Kinnaghan,	2 00
Robert Taggart,	2 00
J. B. Cole,	2 00
Isaac Waddle,	2 00
Joseph Ingraham,	2 00
W. W. Bancroft,	2 00
Lemuel Rose,	2 00
Samuel P. Johnson,	2 00
Joshua Maule,	2 00
Charles Wright,	2 00
Solomon Jinks,	2 00
Sinithy Hopkins	2 00
Jonah Sands,	2 00
Lewis Miller,	2 00
William Gardner,	2 00
H. McMasters,	2 00
E. Martin,	2 00
Dr. Joseph Cole,	2 00
William Duvall,	2 00
Dr. Jonathan Leatherman,	2 00

NEW BOOKS.

JUST RECEIVED AND FOR SALE at the Depository of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, West side of Main street, second story two doors North of Sixth, Cincinnati.

BOUND VOLUMES.

Single copy	
Archy Moore, 2 vols.,	\$1 25
Narrative of Charles Ball,	1 12
Godwin on Slavery,	68
Lectures of George Thompson, with a full report of his discussion with Mr. Borthwick,	60
A new edition of Mrs. Childs' appeal, revised by the author, at the reduced price of	37
Five night's Discussion between George Thompson, Esq., and Rev. R. J. Breckinridge,	37
An inquiry into the character and tendency of the American Colonization and Anti-slavery Societies, by the Hon. Wm. Jay, 4th edition,	38
Life of Granville Sharp, by C. Stuart, ornamented with a beautiful copper-plate likeness,	37
Anti-Slavery Record, vol. 1, nearly bound, with an Appendix, making 174 pages,	31
Right and Wrong in Boston,	31
Rankin's Letters on Slavery in the U. S.,	25
Testimony of God against Slavery,	25
The Fountain, a small pocket manual containing a text for each day in the year, with an appropriate anti-slavery sentiment or fact,	18

PAMPHLETS.

Single one	
Report of the N. York Com. of Vigilance,	25
Trial of Reuben Crandall,	25
Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine,	25
Narrative of the late Riotous Proceedings against the LIBERTY of the PRESS,	12
Third Report of the Am. A. S. Society,	12
Stanton's Remarks in the Representatives' Hall of Massachusetts,	12
A Collection of Valuable Documents,	12
Debate on modern Abolitionism in the Gen. Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church,	12
Gerrit Smith's Letter to Rev. James Smylie,	10
Proceedings of the State Anti-Slavery Convention held at Utica, Oct. 21, and the first meeting of the N. Y. State A. S. Society held at Peterboro', Oct. 22, 1835,	8
A. E. Grimes' Appeal to the Women of the South,	6
An Epistle to the Clergy of the South, by Sarah M. Grimes,	6
Extracts from Remarks on Dr. Channing's Slavery, by Bible Vindicated from the charge of Slavery, by G. Buckingham,	6
First Annual Report of the N. Y. Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society,	5 00
Address to the Society of Friends, by Chas. Marion,	4 00
Address to the Females of Ohio, by James A. Thome,	4 00
WESLEY'S THOUGHTS on Slavery,	3
Franklin an Abolitionist,	3
Declaration of Sentiments,	3
Slave's Friend,	1
Emancipated Family, (elegant Plate),	1 00

therefore thought best to forward our memorial to the Senate, and not being sufficiently acquainted with the sentiments of our own Senators in relation to the power of Congress and the right of petition, we concluded to confine it to the care of the Hon. Daniel Webster, Senator from Massachusetts, believing that one who had hitherto enjoyed (and that deservedly) so much of the confidence and esteem of his fellow citizens, being without a native of the Bay state, the cradle of liberty, the land of our pilgrim fathers, would not hesitate when opportunity offered, to advocate those great sentiments of human liberty and happiness, on which our Constitution is based. Of the fate of this Memorial, we are altogether ignorant. Whether it was presented with or without effort in its behalf, or whether it is yet in reserve for some more favorable moment, we have not the means of informing you. Be this as it may, we trust, that of some, at least, whose names are affixed thereto, it will be found written, "she hath done what she could" for the delivery of such as are bound,

In connection with these details, there are a few things which we wish to suggest in regard to the circulation and return of petitions. In the first place the circulation should commence as soon as practicable, and when commenced should be thorough gone through with, and not left to be prosecuted incidentally with the very common plea of "time enough yet." This is every way important, but principally, in order to make seasonable returns, and enable the committee to arrange and forward them to the best advantage. In procuring names each one should be required to write her own proper signature. We are aware that there often a difficulty about this. We address persons under every variety of circumstance, often where no writing implements are at hand, and the solicitor is requested to put down the name; or if a pencil be produced the letters thus illegibly traced must be copied, lest they should be entirely obliterated. It would be well for each one who engages in this business, to provide herself with a small pocket inkstand, and a ready made pen, to be produced on all emergencies. In regard to the return of petitions, they should be done up in newspaper form with or without envelope, but by no means closed at both ends. To show the importance of this, it is only necessary to state that one roll from a distance of about 30 miles cost us 40 cents postage, another more remote 62 1-2 while another of equal distance was only one cent and a half. The difference arose from the manner in which they were done up. We have entered thus minutely into these matters, because we deem it highly important that they be well understood by all those to whom the circulating of petitions is committed, and we are anxious too, that those, who succeed us in the management of your affairs should be benefited by our experience.

As it respects the address which it was proposed to print having ascertained that the State society had already printed it in a tract form, at their own expense, the committee thought it unnecessary for them to do any thing about it. A few dozen copies were purchased at the Depository, and sent to different individuals in and out of the state.

MARIA A. STURGES.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, MAY 12, 1837.

Financial Agent.

Our friends in the country frequently make the inquiry how the cause of Human Rights advances in this city, what is the condition of the Press as to its safety from a renewed mobocratic assault? We will now answer such delay, that they may be in readiness for presentation whenever an opportunity is afforded. We are verily guilty, if, with our views of the criminality of slavery, and its unscriptural toleration in the church, we do not remonstrate against it, with an urgency that knows no denial. Dear Sisters, it is unnecessary to remind you, that the cause to which we are pledged, is one of inconceivable interest and magnitude. For its advancement, all our energies are requisite, and though we be often sneered at, as the tools of artful and designing men, we trust we have pondered too deeply, both its moral and political bearings, to be easily diverted from our work. We are responsible to God and not to man, for the talents he has entrusted to our keeping, and the only fitness we ask, to enable us to go forward in this, or any other Christian duty, is the Spirit of him, who "came to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound." Let us not forget, however, while we here pledge ourselves anew to the interests of suffering humanity, that it is not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit saith the Lord of Hosts," that the systems of iniquity shall be overthrown. To him, we joyfully commit our cause, assured that it will prosper or decline, as he in his infinite wisdom shall direct.

MARIA A. STURGES.

Chase's Argument.

This is a neat pamphlet of 40 pages. We trust we shall receive orders for it immediately. It should be read everywhere, especially throughout the Western states. It is a sound and vigorous argument, in excellent style, and well calculated to enlighten the public mind on various important constitutional questions affecting the recapture of fugitives from labor, and the rights of our colored citizens. If we mistake not, it will exert great influence in preparing the way for securing the right of trial by jury to persons claimed as fugitive slaves. Every abolitionist should not only read it himself, but use strenuous efforts to circulate it extensively throughout the community.

The following remarks of Mr. Chase exhibit in a striking light the monstrous power of justice of the peace in questions involving the precious right of personal liberty.

"Has Congress selected individuals fitted by nature and education for this important trust? Persons of sufficient knowledge, sound judgment and undoubted integrity! Not at all. By one sweeping enactment, it has appointed all the magistrates of all the counties, cities and towns corporate throughout the Union, judges of these grave questions; judges, too, in the last resort; judges from whose decision lies no appeal; judges with whose proceedings, so long as they strictly pursue the Act, no court and no court of the United States can interfere. And as if this were not enough, the magistrates, in the exercise of this special jurisdiction, are effectually shielded from all responsibility for malconduct. As state magistrates they are not liable to federal impeachment, and as federal officers they are not liable to state impeachment. And if criminally prosecuted, they may protect themselves under their judicial character. Congress cannot remove them from office, for they exercise their powers under the act of Congress in virtue of their offices as magistrates, and they derive their appointment not from Congress, but from the states. Some of them are elected by the people,—some are appointed by the executive authority—some are appointed by town or city councils:—some hold their offices for a term of years—some are elected annually—some hold during good behaviour:—some are compensated by salaries—others by fees—but none by the United States. For their services under the Act of Congress, they must make the best bargain they can with the claimants who seek their aid.—To complete the picture, the Act omits to require them to hear the proofs of claim in public, or to pronounce a public judgment, or to keep any record of their proceedings. And before these magistrates, thus generally unqualified, thus always and completely irresponsible, and thus exposed to temptation, this Act of Congress provides that any person may be dragged by any other person who chooses to set up a claim to him as a fugitive servant, to undergo trial for his personal liberty. And shall we desire, because the popular cry is raised against us, of unlawful interference, unfeminine dictation unprecedented assumption. Ah no! for another cry is in our ears, issuing from the throne of Eternal Truth: 'Open thy mouth for the dumb. Plead the cause of the poor and needy.' Was it to be expected that with such a warrant in our hands, we could look on woman prostrate, degraded, outraged, and make no efforts for her rescue? We are but performing an imperious and sacred duty; a duty from which, (women though we be) it is believed we shall never shrink, while the necessity enforces the obligation.

While we are thus laboring however, to move the hearts and minds of those who are in authority over us, we must not forget that there is another work to be done, of more powerful urgency, and involving in its consequences vastly more momentous than this. Our appeal is, to the justice, the philanthropy, the moral sense of community. Do we expect that these are more prevalent in the nation at large, than in the church of Christ? Can a government

ostensibly based on the immutable principles of Christianity be expected to change its policy, to "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly before God," so long as that policy is sanctioned by ecclesiastical jurisprudence? While the church admits to her communion, and even induces into the ministerial office, those who traffic in the soul of men, and use their neighbor's services without wages, will our rulers and statesmen be persuaded, that the law of love, on which the doctrine of equal rights is predicated, requires the abrogation of slavery? Certainly not. Patriotism may lead them to banish it from the purloins of the capitol, but in doing so, there will be no recognition of that divine principle, "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." Can any believe that a religion, which permits man, to scourge, bind and deliver to hopeless bondage his fellow man, is the legitimate fruit of that gospel, which was ushered in with the triumphal song, of "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth and good will to man?"

Practical Treatise on the Law of Slavery.—A new work is just coming out, compiled by J. D. Wheeler, esq., of this city. It embraces all the decisions on the subject of slavery in the several courts of the U. S., and the states, with notes and references to statutes, &c. Alan Pollock, Jr. publisher, 92 Fulton street. The fact of such a publication being put forth at this time for business purposes may be regarded as evidence that the slavery party calculate upon the permanency of the "institution," and are laying plans to administer and sustain it in the most scientific style. We have not seen the work, and shall be much mistaken if this out-work of the citadel will not furnish a most advantageous battery against the very post it was designed to protect. It will be an authentic picture of what slavery is, drawn as a working model for the use of the slave-holders themselves.—N. F. Evangelist.

Anti-Slavery Cause in Cincinnati.

Our friends in the country frequently make the inquiry

how the cause of Human Rights advances in this city,

what is the condition of the Press as to its safety from a

renewed mobocratic assault?

We will now answer such

delay, that they may be in readiness for presentation

whenever an opportunity is afforded.

Dear Friends, when Honor is due.

A writer in the New York Observer, in the course of

some remarks in relation to that clause of the Constitution

which prohibited the slave-trade after a certain period,

says, "why should Great Britain be lauded for the philan-

thropist in that vicinity.

Rev. E. V. CARTER, of St. Clair, St. Clair county,

Michigan, is authorized to receive subscriptions and make

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SLAVERY

From the A. S. Quarterly Magazine,
Opinions and Testimony of Thomas Jefferson.

A friend has kindly put us in possession of a letter from Mr. Jefferson to Dr. Price, of London, for which we are exceedingly obliged. It was written more than half a century ago, while Mr. Jefferson was in France, and shows with authority, which few will dare to dispute, what was the state of public sentiment in the United States in regard to slavery at that time. By the help of this letter, as a sure signal we may ascertain what progress we have made in respect to liberty. The letter may be found in Jefferson's Posthumous Works, Vol. I, page 268.

PARIS, AUG. 7th 1785.

To Dr. Price. Sir—Your favor of July 2d came duly to hand. The concern you therein express as to the effect of your pamphlet in America induces me to trouble you with some observations on that subject. From my acquaintance with that country I think I am able to judge with some degree of certainty of the manner in which it will be received. Southward of the Chesapeake it will find but few readers concurring with it in sentiment on the subject of slavery. From the mouth to the head of the Chesapeake, the bulk of the people will approve it in theory, and it will find a respectable minority ready to adopt it in practice. A minority which for weight and worth of character preponderates against the greater number who have not courage to divest their families of a property, which however keeps their consciences uneasy.

Northward of the Chesapeake you may find here and there a robber and a murderer, but in no greater number. In that part of America they being but few slaves, they can easily dissemble themselves of them, and emancipation is put into such a train that in a few years there will be no slaves northward of Maryland. In Maryland I do not find such a disposition to begin the redress of this anomaly as in Virginia. This is the next state to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of usics in conflict with avarice and oppression, a conflict wherein the sacred side is gaining daily recruits from the influx into office of young men grown and growing up; these have sucked in the principles of liberty, as it were with their mothers' milk, and it is to them I look with anxiety to turn the fate of this question. Be not therefore disengaged, what you have written will do a great deal of good, and could you still trouble yourself with our welfare, no man is more able to give aid to the laboring side. The college of William and Mary in Williamsburg since the remodeling of its plan is the place where are collected together all the young men of Virginia under preparation for public life. They are there under the direction (most of them) of a Mr. Wythe, one of the most virtuous of characters and whose sentiments on the subject of slavery are unequivocal. I am satisfied if you could resolve to address an exhortation to these young men with all that eloquence of which you are master—that its influence on the future decision of this important question would be great, perhaps decisive. Thus you see that so far from thinking you have cause to repent of what you have done, I wish you to do more, and wish on an assurance to that effect. The information I have received from America of the reception of your pamphlet in the different states agrees with the expectation I had formed.

—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

At what time during the last twenty years would one of our foreign ministers have dared to court "foreign interference" with our "domestic institutions"?—Let our malignants and the persecutors of George Thompson settle their account with Thomas Jefferson. It is in the language of Thomas Jefferson—one of the southern parties to the "compact"—that we say,—"Be not disengaged, George Thompson, your mission will do a great deal of good, and could you still trouble yourself with our welfare, no man is more able to give aid to the laboring side. So far from thinking you have cause to repent of what you have done, we wish you to do more.—In saying this are we traitors to our country? So was Thomas Jefferson. In saying this do we violate the spirit of the great compromise? We were taught by Thomas Jefferson.

Again, are we wrong in agitating the subject of slavery because slaveholders are opposed to such agitation? So were the great majority of them in 1785. Are we wrong in agitating the subject at the North, where there are none or very few slaves? Dr. Price was encouraged to write Anti-Slavery pamphlets, though he could find few readers at the South, and at the North emancipation was already in a train of accomplishment. At the North he had but here and there an opponent—few will pretend that our opponents at the North are as rare as "robbers and murderers."

Again, we are accused of being young ourselves, and of endeavoring to excite the young. It was to the young, too, that Jefferson looked "with anxiety to turn the fate of this question." Much as we revere age, and we trust one more sincerely honors the hoary head, that is found in the way of wisdom, we have no faith in age for reform.

The mature generation cannot be expected to rebuke itself, nor mark its own immorality. The great men of thirty years have built their reputation upon, and mixed up their interests with existing institutions. They cannot be expected to pull down the old, now that it is too late to build up anew. We think that a certain poet was not far from the truth when he sang that

—Grave and hoary men were bribed to tell,

From seats where law is made the slave of wrong,

How glorious Athens in her splendor so,

Because her sons were free—and that among

Mankind, the many to the few belong,

By Heaven, and Nature, and Necessity.

They said, that age was truth, and that the young

Marred with wild hopes the peace of slavery,

With which old times and men had quelled the vain and free.

We are blamed for meddling with the colleges. The youth at our colleges it is said, have nothing to do with slavery. All discussion of it interferes with the business of their education. Why should boys trouble their heads with grave matters of legislation—let them leave such things to their fathers. Instructors, too, are blamed if they venture to express unequivocal opinions in regard to slavery. It is travelling beyond their calling.—Thomas Jefferson, in 1785, had other views on these points. He looked, as we do, to the young men of our colleges as the nation's hope, and wished to have them exhorted with all possible eloquence with a view to their action on the decision of this important question. The hopes of Jefferson will be realized, though during his lifetime he waned exceedingly, as is evident from the following letter to Governor Cole of Illinois.

MONTICELLO, Aug. 25, 1814.

Dear Sirs.—Your favor of July 31st was duly received, and was read with peculiar pleasure. The sentiments breathed through the whole do honor to the head and heart of the writer. Mine, on the subject of the slavery of negroes, have long since been in possession of the public, and time has only served to give them stronger root.

The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people and it is a moral reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain, and should have produced not a single effort,—nay, I fear, not much serious willingness to relieve them and ourselves from our present condition of moral and political reproach.

From those of the former generation, who were in the fullness of age when I came into public life, which was while our controversy with England was on paper only, I soon saw that nothing was to be hoped. Nursed and educated in the daily habit of seeing the degraded condition both bodily and mental, of those unfortunate beings, but not reflecting that that degradation was very much the work of themselves and their fathers, few minds have yet doubted but that they were as legitimate subjects of property as their horses or cattle. The quiet and monotonous course of colonial life had been disturbed by no alarm, and little reflection on the value of liberty. And when an alarm was taken at an enterprise of their own, it was not easy to carry them to the whole length of the principles which they invoked for themselves. In the first or second session of the legislature, after I became a member, I drew to this subject the attention of Colonel Blenner, one of the oldest, ablest, and most respected members, and he undertook in motion for certain moderate extensions of the protection of the laws to these people. I seconded his motion, and as a younger member, was more sparing in the debate; but he was denounced as an enemy to his country and was treated with the greatest indecorum. From an early stage of our Revolution, either and more distant du-

to his calamity. It does not require much depth of casu-
ality to solve these problems—but the conscience of the people is asleep, and the church is only beginning to awake.

C. K. TRUE.
Middletown, Conn., Dec. 23.

From the Register and Observer.
Self-Defeating Policy.

I have either dreamed or read of a man who set fire to the temple of Diana, and assigned as a reason for his conduct, that he wished to immortalize his name. To defeat the purpose of this man, the government passed a decree, prohibiting the mention of his name in a manner which would tend to transmit it to posterity as the famous incendiary. Of course, this decree had to be recorded and published. The decree has, therefore, defeated its own purpose; it has caused the name of the incendiary to be immortalized according to his desire.

It may now be asked—has nothing occurred in our own country of the same self-defeating tendency? Look at the policy adopted by Governor McDuffie to prevent the slaves from becoming acquainted with the writings and doings of the abolitionists of the North. If I mistake not, the course he adopted did more to inform, to excite, and to inflame the minds of the slaves, than it was in the power of the abolitionists to effect without his aid.

Had the abolitionists been disposed to put their tracts in the hands of the slaves, instead of the hands of their masters, they could not have done it to any considerable extent, without the consent of the slaveholders. Besides, it is believed

that very few of the slaves of that state can read; of course very few of them could have obtained any information of the doings of the abolitionists by reading, had the tracts been put into their hands.

This enterprise is for the young; for those who can follow it up and bear it through to its consummation. It shall have all my prayers; and these are the only weapons of an old man.

It is an encouraging observation, that no good measure was ever proposed which, if duly pursued, failed to prevail in the end. We have proof of this in the history of the endeavors in the British Parliament to suppress that very trade which brought this evil upon us. And you will be supported by the religious precept, "be not weary in well doing." That your success may be as speedy and complete, as it will be honorable and immortal consolation to yourself, I shall as fervently and sincerely pray to God for you as I do for myself.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Edward Cole, Esq.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

From Zion's Herald.

Wesley's Opinion of Slaveholding.

It has well been remarked that the works of this distinguished servant of Christ embrace the principles and rudiments of all the great reforms, which characterize the present age. The following conclusion of tract, entitled "Thoughts upon Slavery," exhibits his sentiments in respect to this Great Evil of our country. When it is remembered that members of the Methodist church are now allowed to traffic in the bodies and souls of men, unrepented and unreconciled, and the Rule of Discipline forbidding the "buying and selling men and women with the intent that they shall be slaves" is a dead letter in nearly all the slaveholding States, can we help feeling, that, as a church, we have awfully departed from our original standard. Was Wesley wrong? Have his successors made an advance in moral discernment and purity? Must we now trample upon the principles of our founder, efface the writings of our standard authors, and give the sanction of religion to slavery? Why then admit slaveholders into our church, and allow the nefarious traffic of human nature to go uncondemned? Shall we be Methodists in name and not in principle—in doctrine, not in practice? But hear Mr. Wesley.

"This equally concerns every gentleman that has an estate in American plantations; yes, all slaveholders, of whatever rank or degree; seeing men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers. Indeed you say, 'I pay honestly for my goods; and I am not concerned to know how they are come by.' Nay, but you are; you are deeply concerned to know they are honestly come by. Otherwise you are a partner with a thief; and are not a jot honester than he. But you know they are not honest; you know they are procured by means notching near so innocent as picking of pockets, house-breaking, or robbery upon the highway. You know they are procured by a deliberate series of more complicated villainy, ('of fraud, robbery and murder,) than was ever practiced either by Mahomedans or Pagans; in particular, by murders, of all kinds; by the blood of the innocent poured upon the ground like water. No, it is your money that pays the merchant, and through him the captain and African butchers. You, therefore, are guilty—principally guilty, of all these frauds, robberies and murders.

You are the spring that puts all the rest in motion; they would not stir a step without you, therefore, the blood of these wretches who die before their time, whether in their country or elsewhere, lies upon your head. The blood of thy brother, (for whether thou will believe it or not, such he is in the sight of Him who made him,) crieth against thee from the earth, with the ship and from the waters. O, whatever it costs, put a stop to it ere it be too late; instantly, at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver yourself from blood guinity! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, thy lands, are at present stained with blood! Surely it is enough; accumulate no more guilt; spill no more blood; do not pay him for doing it! Whether you are a Christian or no, show yourself a man. Be not more savage than a lion or a bear.

"Perhaps you will say, 'I do not buy any negroes; I only use those left me by my father.' So far is well; but is it enough to satisfy your own conscience? Had your father, have you, has any man living, a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting Revelation aside. It cannot be, that either war, or conquest, or any other means could be more than their way clear to join an anti-slavery society; that many had been kept from joining such societies by these imprudences, that by such means they had really retarded the progress of their own cause; still, he might have added, there are many good and prudent men, many worthy ministers of the gospel, who belong to such societies,—and that one principle, greatly to be commended, is adopted by them all; for they clearly avow the opinion, that it would be very wrong and very unwise for the slaves to resort to any act of violence, any thing like insurrection, Lynch measures, to obtain their freedom,—and this in the hope that the slaveholders will soon be disposed to consent to their emancipation. 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